

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

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S E C R E T SECTO 05020

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR THE PRESIDENT AND WARREN CHRISTOPHER

FROM THE SECRETARY

PASS TO BLUMENTHAL, EYES ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP, CIEC  
SUBJ: EVENING REPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT

1. THE SECOND DAY OF CIEC BEGAN WITH BREAKFAST WITH THE IRANIANS. AMUZEGAR REPORTED ON A LONG G-19 MEETING THE PREVIOUS NIGHT, INDICATING THAT THE REACTION IN THAT GROUP TO OUR SPEECHES OF YESTERDAY WAS MIXED BUT ON BALANCE REFLECTED DISAPPOINTMENT-- THE TONE WAS WELL RECEIVED, BUT THERE WAS A SHORTAGE OF CONCRETE COMMITMENTS. MINISTERS MET IN PRELIMINARY SESSION OFOR ONLY ABOUT 20 MINUTES TODAY, TO HEAR PEREZ GUERRERO RESPOND ON BEHALF OF THE G-19 TO THE PREVIOUS DAY'S SPEECHES. HIS TALK REFLECTED THE DISAPPOINTMENT THE IRANIANS NOTED AND EMPHASIZED THE DISASTER THAT WOULD BEFALL THE WORLD IF WE DO NOT CHANGE THE WORLD ECONOMIC STRUCTURE. THIS TALK REPRESENTED A MIXTURE OF GENUINE FEELING AND NEGOTIATING POSTURE.

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IT WAS MUCH LESS PESSIMISTIC THAN I AND MANY OF THOSE EXPERIENCED IN NORTH-SOUTH NEGOTIATIONS HAD EXPECTED.

2. THE REMAINDER OF THE DAY WAS DEVOTED TO NEGOTIATING SESSIONS IN THREE WORKING COMMISSIONS AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL. I WAS THE G-8 SPOKESMAN IN THE COMMISSION ON ENERGY AND FINANCE; DAVID OWEN HANDLED RAW MATER-

IALS; AND ROY JENKINS WAS THE SPOKESMAN OF DEVELOPMENT. WE MADE SOME PROGRESS IN ALL THREE COMMISSIONS, BUT MANY ISSUES REMAIN OUTSTANDING AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE RELUCTANT TO SET ASIDE ANY OF THE NUMEROUS ISSUES THAT THEY PUT ON THE AGENDA OVER A YEAR AGO.

3. THE ATMOSPHERE IMPROVED NOTABLY DURING THE DAY, WITH CONTINUING EXPRESSIONS OF APPRECIATION AT THE GOOD TONE OF OUR SPEECH, BUT THE OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE IS STILL VERY UNCLEAR.

4. THE THREE COMMISSION WILL CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE TOMORROW, AND I WILL BE LUCKY TO BE ABLE TO LEAVE PARIS BY EVENING. I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT THAT I SEE THE CONFERENCE THROUGH TO ITS CONCLUSION, WHICH MAY TAKE INTO THE EARLY HOURS OF THURSDAY.

5. A KEY ISSUE TOMORROW WILL BE HOW TO HANDLE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ONGOING DIALOGUE ON ENERGY, WHICH WILL PROBABLY BE LINKED TO A CONTINUATION OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE IN SOME FORM OF ANOTHER, PROBABLY USING THE FRAMEWORK AND PROCEDURE OF CIEC, AS REQUIRED. WE ARE WORKING WITH THE SAUDDIS ON THIS, BUT THE RESISTANCE FROM OTHERS, ESPECIALLY DAVID OWEN, TO THE CONTINUATION OF CIEC IN ANY FORM IS VERY STRONG.

6. I MET TODAY WITH PAKISTANI FOREIGN MINISTER, AZIZ AHMED, FOR ALMOST AN HOUR AND A HALF. HE CLEARLY  
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HAD A PRECISE BRIEF FROM PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO AND SPENT THE FIRST 45 MINUTES OF OUR MEETING REVIEWING THE COURSE OF U.S.-PAKISTANI RELATIONS OVER THE PAST 25 YEARS. THE THRUST OF HIS PRESENTATION WAS THAT PAKISTAN HAD MADE MANY SACRIFICES OVER THE YEARS TO SUPPORT AMERICAN INTERESTS AND THAT IT HAD BEEN FREQUENTLY LET DOWN BY THE U.S. HE CITED IN PARTICULAR OUR FAILURE TO SUPPORT PAKISTAN MORE STRONGLY IN THE 1965 AND THE 1971 INDO-PAKISTANI WARS AND OUR TEN-DISCRIMINATORY AGAINST PAKISTAN SINCE INDIA HAD READY ACCESS TO SOVIET ARMS. HE REVIEWED THE EVOLUTION OF PAKISTAN'S ARRANGEMENTS WITH FRANCE FOR A NUCLEAR REPROCESSING PLANT, POINTING OUT (WITH SOME JUSTIFICATION) THAT THE U.S. HAD WAITED UNTIL 1976 (3 YEARS AFTER THE PROJECT WAS STARTED) TO MAKE ITS OPPOSITION TO THE REPROCESSING PROJECT KNOWN TO THE PAKISTANIS. FINALLY, AZIZ AHMED REPEATED THE CHARGE THAT PAKISTAN HAS EXTENSIVE EVIDENCE OF MASSIVE U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE OPPOSITION PARTIES IN THE RECENT ELECTIONS--

EVIDENCE WHICH HE SAID HE HAD WITH HIM IF WE WANTED IT. I DID NOT ASK FOR THE MATERIAL HE SAID HE HAD.

7. AZIZ AHMED SAID THAT U.S.-PAKISTANI RELATIONS ARE AT A CROSSROADS AND CAN GO EITHER IN THE DIRECTION OF CONFRONTATION OR OF RESTORING MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BETWEEN US. IF THE CHOICE IS CONFRONTATION, HE FORESHADOWED A PAKISTANI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE CENTRAL TREATY ORGANIZATION, A TURNING TO THE SOVIET OPTION, AND A CONTINUATION OF BHUTTO'S ANTI-AMERICAN CAMPAING, HAVING SAID ALL THAT, AZIZ AHMED EMPHASIZED THAT PAKISTAN WOULD PREFER TO TREAT WHAT HAS HAPPENED AS A CLOSED CHAPTER AND APPROACH THE FUTURE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT. HE, AT THE SAME TIME, CLEARLY IMPLIED THAT OUR FUTURE POSITION ON PAKISTAN'S REPROCESSING PROJECT, AND BHUTTO'S EVALUATION OF THIS MEETING, WOULD BE KEY FACTORS IN  
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DETERMINING WHICH WAY OUR RELATIONS WENT.

8. HAVING HEARD AZIZ AHMED OUT, I DECIDED THIS WAS NOT THE OCCASION FOR A CONFRONTATIONAL RESPONSE. SO FAR AS CHARGES OF U.S. INTERFERENCE IN PAKISTANI INTERNAL AFFAIRS ARE CONCERNED, I MADE CLEAR THERE WAS NO BASIS FOR SUCH CHARGES AND SUGGESTED THAT WHATEVER EVIDENCE THE PAKISTANIS HAD MIGHT BE THE RESULT OF A DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN AGAINST US. BEYOND THAT, I EMPHASIZED HOW HIGHLY WE HAVE VALUED OUR RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN, OUR RESPECT FOR PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO IN THE PAST, AND OUR DESIRE TO FOLLOW THE PATH OF RESTORING MUTUAL CONFIDENCE IN OUR RELATIONS. WITH RESPECT TO THE REPROCESSING PROJECT, I OUTLINED OUR OWN DECISIONS TO FOREGO REPROCESSING AND LOOK FOR LESS DANGEROUS ALTERNATIVES. I STRESSED OUR HOPE THAT OTHERS WOULD DO THE SAME, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT IN THE END EVERY COUNTRY MUST MAKE ITS OWN SOVEREIGN DECISION IN SUCH MATTERS. AZIZ AHMED DID NOT RAISE EITHER ARMS SUPPLY QUESTIONS OR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, AND I DECIDED TO LEAVE THESE MATTERS FOR LATER EXCHANGES BETWEEN US.

9. IN SUMMARY, I MADE CLEAR THAT OUR PREFERENCES WERE TO PURSUE COOPERATIVE RELATIONS IF PAKISTAN WILL DO THE SAME, BUT LEFT UNANSWERED THE QUESTION OF WHAT THE CONTENT OF THOSE RELATIONS WILL BE AND DID NOT HOLD OUT ANY PROMISE THAT WE CAN FULFILL PAKISTAN'S OBJECTIVES IN THE NUCLEAR REPROCESSING AND ARMS SUPPLY FIELDS. HAVING SIGNED OUR DESIRE TO FORGET THE RECENT PAST AND RESTORE OUR RELATIONS ON

A BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPECT, I BELIEVE WE MUST NOW WAIT  
A BIT TO SEE WHETHER BHUTTO RECIPROCATES BEFORE UNDER-  
TAKING MORE CONCRETE DISCUSSIONS OF THE  
ISSUES WHICH STILL HAVE TO BE RESOLVED IN OUR RELATIONSHIP.

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10. IN MY MEETING WITH NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER  
GARBA, WE REVIEWED THE NIGERIAN MEDIATION EFFORT OF  
THE ZAIRE"ANGOLA DISPUTE. GARBA TOLD US THAT  
THINGS ARE NOW AT A STANDSTILL BECAUSE NETO HAS  
SWITCHED SIGNALS AND NOW SEEMS TO BE HEADED TOWARD  
USING CONGO BRAZZAVILLE AS A MEDIATOR, AS WELL AS THE  
NIGERIANS, WHOM MOBUTO WISHES TO KEEP IN THE ACT.  
NEIGHER GARBA NOR I KNOW EXACTLY WHAT THIS NEW  
DEVELOPMENT WILL MEAN FOR RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

11. GARBA SAID HE WAS SUPPORTIVE OF OUR EFFORTS WITH  
THE BRITISH TO REACH A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. HE  
INFORMED US OF A NEW DEVELOPMENT, WHICH I FIND QUITE  
ENCOURAGING. HE SAID THAT THE NIGERIANS HAVE TOLD  
NKOMO THAT THEY WILL WITHDRAW THEIR SUPPORT OF HIM  
UNLESS HE AND THE OTHER NATIONALISTS STOP FIGHTING WITH  
EACH OTHER AND REACH AGREEMENT ON BASIC ISSUES IN  
ADVANCE OF FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS. GARBA TOLD US THAT  
WHEN NEGOTIATIONS ACTUALLY OCCUR, WE AND THE BRITISH  
MAY FIND A MORE COHESIVE NATIONALIST BODY. THIS  
WOULD, OF COURSE, BE QUIRE HELPFUL.  
VANCE

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